1: Orans E-5 (ca. 1958) 1965
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621 occasions, bury or cremate one another, assist each other during illness or scarcity, entertain one another, and make "pleasure" possible. They may hunt together, jointly stock some pool with fish and generally carry on the daily routine of work and leisure side by side. Santal kinship groups are important within the village, but they are not nearly so divisive as Hindu castes. Neither the clan, the sub-clan, nor the local lineage is endogamous nor so structured as to limit social relations with nonmembers. Indeed, all are exogamous and it is only the entire tribe which in some respects is equivalent to a Hindu caste. The Santal village is therefore more internally solidary than a Hindu village of the region, though many clans may be represented.

Though not formally so, the village is in practice almost completely exogamous. This is partially due to the close relations between villagers and to the feeling that if a man's in-laws, and particularly his brothers-in-law, are living in his village, he will have difficulty in "disciplining" his wife; to put it as the Santals do, "She will run home to her house all the time making trouble between her husband and her brothers."

[582] [593]

The tie to one's village is also supported by the attachment to the agricultural land which generally surrounds the few rows of houses and which is regarded as an integral part of the village. Besides the founding spirit of the village there are distinctive "boundary deities" (*sima boŋga*) marking the special attachment to one's own village.

622 628 692 As indicated earlier, the village is tied to about a dozen nearby villages in a quasi-judicial relationship. The head of this confederation is in many respects a multi-village headman. He is generally recruited from that local lineage which first migrated to the area; his tenure and appointment are subject to

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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125 miles away from Jamshedpur, the nearest major city. The fol-
184 lowing frequences of the different forms of marriage were ob-
583 tained from this sample:

DB	*SB*	*TD*	*NB*	*Total Number*
5 (10%)	20 (40%)	9 (18%)	16 (32%)	50 (100%)

182 Since the four varieties of marriage are graded in terms of cost,
434 it is reasonable to plot farmer's per capita income against mar-
583 riage form chosen to determine the degree to which income is associated with the form chosen. The figures given in Table 2 are in terms of maunds of husked paddy per person per year after taxation. A maund weighs approximately eighty lbs.

Converting these figures into percentages, one notes that eighty per cent of *DB* fall in the greater-than-thirty-maund category, eighty per cent of *SB* in the greater-than-ten-maund category, 55 per cent of *TD* in the greater-than-ten-maund category, and only twelve per cent of *NB* in the greater-than-ten-maund category. The association between marriage form and per capita income is obvious and consistent throughout. It suggests that per capita income is the largest single determinant of marriage-type choice.

182 Of the other possible countable determinants, the possibility
583 that having either a father or a mother alive at the time of
593 marriage might be significant was considered, since there were

information we requested. The same sampling procedure was used in the case of the *bastee* residents living in the *bastee* at the time of marriage. The nineteen were obtained from two villages in Mayurbhanj; fifteen of these were from Panderkuta and the other four from the control village. In Panderkuta the sample seemed ideal since data was obtained from every male in one "Section" (*tola* as in Hindi) of the village. However, over half of these informants had ultimately to be excluded from the sample since they had worked in surrounding mines prior to marriage.

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1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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TABLE 2

CHOICE OF MARRIAGE FORM BY FARMERS BY PER CAPITA INCOME

Maunds per capita	*Marriage Forms*				*Income Class Total*
	DB	*SB*	*TD*	*NB*	
0–10	0	4	4	10	18
11–20	0	11	3	3	17
21–30	1	5	1	2	9
31–40	2	0	1	0	3
41	2	0	0	1	3
Total Number of Marriages	5	20	9	16	50

a few cases of comparatively well-off Santal without parents who had had an *NB*, and who explained that there was no one to arrange a marriage for them. Among the fifty sampled there were only six whose parents were both dead at the time of marriage. There were only three cases in which the father was living at the time of marriage and the mother not, and there were twenty-one cases in which only the mother was alive; however, there were no significant differences in these cases. It was therefore concluded that having a parent alive is seldom a determinant of marriage-type choice and that it is not generally relevant which parent is alive.[4]

One other type of countable information had to be considered: whether there was a shift in frequency during the forty-four-year period 1913 to 1957 in which these marriages occurred. The assembled data indicate that there were no sig-

[4] It might be significant in the very expensive *DB* but my sample was too small to detect its relevance.

585 [539]

You know, Father, there
They are casting wristlets;
You know, Father, there
Are those who buy and trade in diamonds and pearls.

The bride's people then say: Sirs, you have taken hold of the village headman to buy for you; in connexion with this something more is to be paid; you must pay this. The bridegroom's party say: How much will have to be paid, Sir? It is said, one four-anna bit, four annas are to be paid. The bridegroom's party answer: What shall we do then? If it has to be paid, shall we not give it, Sir? The Jog Mañjhi then says to them: Out with it then. They now give into the Jog Mañjhi's hand one rupee, the marriage-shed fee for the village headman. The Jog Mañjhi receives this rupee and salutes the village people, and as he salutes, he says: This is the rupee to snap the foot-rope of the bed of the father's younger brother[30]. After this he also salutes the bridegroom's party all round. The poured-out beer and the squeezed-out beer of the bridegroom's party and the beer that the headman brought out, they have drunk up while they have been talking. Of the poured-out beer the village headman got two leaf-cups.

Now the village headman on the bride's side says: So far as this place is concerned, I presume we have done all well or how? The bridegroom's party answer: Yes, we are likely to have done it well. The Jog Mañjhi stands up and says: Our so and so headman, Sir! (he addresses the village headman of the bridegroom's side by name) Come, we shall stretch the end of our spine a little. All there then stand up, and the bridegroom's party salute all the village people there, one after the other, commencing from the headman, and then go to their lodgings.

Now the Jog Mañjhi calls out to three men among these: Honoured bridegroom's party, please come along with me some three men of you. He takes them into the house of the village headman. They sit down there, and they give them each two leaf-cups of beer, good beer. They drink this; thereupon they give them what is customary right: One pot of beer, a full one, twelve seers of rice, one solid brass arm-ring, one four-leaves-cup full of split peas, some three branches of the root of turmeric, tobacco, and salt. Of this rice the Jog Mañjhi measures out again for himself one seer. Thereupon these three men also go to their lodgings, taking all these things with them.

Now the Jog Mañjhi says to the bride's people: Come, we shall gather the people of the village, we shall have the waving ceremony. He then sends the Godet to call the village people together. He himself, keeping a lota with water on a leaf-plate on the palm of his hand, goes to the bridegroom's party and says to them: Come along,

[604] [593]

[30] The father's younger brother is eg. for the village headman. The whole expression is said to imply that the last tie by which the bride is bound to her parental home is broken.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

IV. WHEN A MARRIED SON LIVES IN THE HOUSE OF HIS FATHER

a. Brothers living together.

Santals do not at once, when getting married, set up separate households; they stay in the house of the man's parents. If a man moves away to live in the house of his father-in-law, they blame him very much, and such a man will not afterwards get any share of the inheritance. Some people will, because they are annoyed beyond sufferance, perform the final funeral ceremonies for such a son. Nowadays a few men will give them a share of the original property; but this is only a favour; formerly they had no right to this.

Until the father makes his sons set up separate households, they work together, eat together. The parents of the young men look upon their daughters-in-law as their own daughters. Among his sons the father will love the oldest son most, provided he is good, and the mother will love her youngest child most. The young men with their wives honour their uncles and aunts like their own parents, and these look upon them as their own children.

The father guides, instructs and tutors his sons, and the mother does the same with her daughters-in-law and daughters. The younger daughters-in-law address the elder daughters-in-law as elder sisters and obey their word like that of their mother-in-law; the elder daughters-in-law address the younger ones, saying "girl" to them, and look upon them as younger sisters. When the parents have lost their strength, the oldest son and the eldest daughter-in-law manage the household, and they have to stand up when the young ones misbehave or commit any fault. If the elder ones while living let the younger ones manage, awful quarrelings arise. The old man mostly scolds his wife if the work and business don't go well, and now and then he will also upbraid his sons, but never his daughters-in-law. Those who really start quarrels, are the mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law, and the wives of the brothers, and through their quarrels brothers also become enemies. Santals say: "A mother-in-law, a bitter pumpkin, not tasty"; "a daughter-in-law, plugged ears, they don't hear"; "a daughter-in-law, a python snake, dragging themselves along, they do not move". Of the husbands of daughters they say: "A daughter's husband, crooked firewood, will be still more crooked"; "Another's child, a forest fowl, they will not become one's own".

An elder brother's wife and the younger brothers and sisters of her husband are great friends; they do not quarrel. Girls tell the wife of their elder brother everything, both

butter, and melting the butter they make clarified butter. The butter-milk they eat themselves; they also give a share of it to poor people. 234 [735]

Fairly small boys make carts of earth and amuse themselves pulling these round about; they also make small carts of wood for them. They make bows and arrows for them, and they play shooting lizards, grasshoppers and so on with these. When they have become a little more grown up, they play ṭir and kaṭi[9]. 524 857

The work of small girls is to carry children on the hip, to pluck vegetables and to help their mother with something or other. When they become fairly big, they fetch water and leaves and do different kinds of work. When they are small girls, they play, pretending to prepare rice and curry from dust; when they have become a little more grown up, they dance the road-dance and they sing a good deal.

Until they grow up, boys and girls play together the following: hedel guḍu, bhela ṭaṗ ṭuṗ, sui gutu, bhiṛkṣi bhiṛkṣi, kaṇthar dare, eḷiḷ, simid simid, kui kui, kaera sayae sapae, taye taye, puai puai, duruṗ teṅgon, jhampa, baṭ baṭ, siḳṛid siḳṛid, antam groṡ, hon gujur, kilkila, ṭiṭṣu ṗiṭṣu, and others[10].

g. The sorrows and pleasures of married people.

Some married people live in great peace. The husband lightens the burdens of his wife, and the wife also does the same for her husband. In the evening husband and wife consult together about their work and business. When there is any need, the husband says to his wife: For the present prepare gruel for us feeling your way; at present it is a time of scarcity. And also the wife says to her husband: Exert yourself to procure foodstuffs for us, it is coming to an end; or, the clothes of the children are being torn, how will you provide them with clothes? or, Our son has grown up, will you not look about to get us a daughter-in-law somewhere? He might perhaps commit some offence somewhere and make it difficult for us; or, The children don't listen to me, when I give them an order, how much must I speak? Scold them, so that they become afraid; or, The children are ill, let some one feel their pulse. Such good married people at once listen to each other's words. They work and get their food with one mind. 593

But some women are very bad-tempered; they irritate their husband all day long; they nag awfully, they speak angrily, and easily become sulky. The husband has never any peace. He may talk with somebody or other about something; then his wife will at once impute something bad to him. If the husband is a little late coming from somewhere, the woman will get sulky, and if he asks for water or anything, she will at once speak 578 593

[9] Ṭir is a small piece of wood, some 15 cm long, thrown by one part and met with a stick in the air by the opposite part. Kaṭi is a small flat piece of potsherd or of wood used in a pitch and toss game.
[10] The Santals have an astonishingly large number of games, many more than those here mentioned; to describe these would require a separate paper.

593 angrily to him, she will meet him with abuse: Pour out yourself and gulp it down, did
578 she not give you any? He may be thirsty. She will abuse and scold him, until she makes him angry. Now men cannot take it up with women as regards the mouth; therefore he becomes furious and thrashes her, so that she lies there done for. The woman will howl and abuse him foully: That woman you have, stab your woman! Bring her, let her cook, gnash it both of you, heaps of it; your stomach, is it not expanding? You blind fool, you staring wretch, die like a beast; did you not see me then? Your burst eyes! Were they in your neck? I will not stay here; do you imagine you are the only man existing? And the children howl uproariously; they run out and cry: Come here, Father, come here, Father, he is killing our mother. The village people then come and warn the two; and if such happens often, they fine them after having found out what the fault is. Some women are very lazy and squander everything. Some men also are very bad-tempered; without any reason they beat their wives; they find fault with the food and the work, when it is good; all day long they scowl at their wives, and they speak only roughly and harshly to them. And some men squander everything by beer-drinking. When the man or the [627] [586] woman, or both of them, continue bad in this way they separate, that is to say, some people do; but some people will not separate, because they feel pity for the children. Such people live in great trouble.

h. The sorrows and joys of father, mother, and children.

593 Parents will not beat their children wantonly, if they do not become angry; and they
861 will rather themselves not take food, but, if there is any food, they will give it to the children. In the presence of the mother the father is unable to beat the children; their mother will protect them. And there is very little done in the way of punishing children; therefore they live as they like. If they do not obey when they have been ordered to do something once or twice, the parents will leave them alone and be done with it. And if they are beaten or the like, the children will run away sulky to relatives. These will not upbraid them and send them home; they let them stay; thereby the children get courage. The parents are forced to go to fetch them, and only by coaxing them are they able to bring them home. Also when grown up, the children will commit faults without fear, because they themselves are not punished; the parents are punished. The Santals have much trouble with their children, because the children are not kept in discipline. So long as they are small or live in the houses of their parents, children will not get what they deserve for their bad behaviour; but in their time they will get full retribution for not having respected their parents. Sometimes when they have become utterly worried, the parents will say to their misbehaving children: You young fellow, or you young girl, when we both are no more, you will not get enough water even to clean yourself, and you will be carried away like a whirlwind.

2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

k. Concerning mutual behaviour and respect.

At the time when we were boys, all members of a family living in the same village greeted each other in the morning, as soon as they got up, and the people in the village also greeted each other when they met, and when members of a family go anywhere on a visit or come back, then also they greet each other. And when the young people of a village go to attend a festival, they bow to the Mañjhi haram and Mañjhi buḍhi (the village headman and his wife), when they leave. In the house the master and his wife once daily are sure to kiss their sons and daughters-in-law, big or small. The young men and girls all honour the old men and ladies much. What these say to instruct or exhort them, this they fix in their mind. They are not impudent towards old men and women; in their presence they do not sit down on a bedstead even; young men and girls do not drink beer or liquor; the young men do not go to a place where an ox is eaten either. Women pay much heed to what the men say; they do not let their hair down in the presence of men. The village people honour the village headman and his deputy much, and these two also do not neglect what the village people say. 576 [622] [593] [561]

Nowadays the age has been spoilt. The women do not honour the men; the sons do not respect their old fathers either; daughters are also very impudent towards their mothers; they do not greet each other either; they pass each other like animals; the young men and girls drink an awful amount of beer; when old men come, they do not get up either; when old men or the parents upbraid them, the young men and girls answer back, or they run away in the sulks, and only when coaxed a good deal, will they come back home. The women and the children have become the kings in this age. Some few people are good even at the present time; but most people have become bad. The village headmen also judge covetously (taking bribes), and the village people do not follow the headman's order either. Also co-parents-in-law are quarrelling a good deal in the present age; formerly they never quarrelled, they were very respectful towards each other. The ancestors said: "Rice like flowers, curry like fish, liquor like fire, and a friend like a co-parent-in-law, where will you find such a one?" 178 576 [593] [561] [622] [539]

l. Concerning friendship.

Living in the same village all are relatives, quite so; but there is not friendship with all there. In a village many people are on friendly terms with each other, and some people also are on good terms with each other, but friendship they have only with one or two others, and intimate friendship they have only one with one other, and this is very rarely found. Intimate friends will give even their life to help each other in calamity and danger. People who are intimate friends tell each other the sorrows and joys of their heart, and in all matters they help each other, when there is any necessity. In the village elderly men 572

2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

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The priest is in the court-yard, girls,
The reddish white horse;
The priest is in the place outside, girls,
The reddish companion mare.

Moving up and down, moving up and down, girls,
Is the reddish white horse;
Swaying, swaying, girls,
Is the reddish companion mare.

Bind on him the bells, girls,
On the reddish white horse;
Tie on to her the jingle-belt, girls,
On the reddish companion mare.

The dancing ones dance, and the beer-drinkers drink beer. Until sunset they dance in the house of the priest singing Flower-festival songs; and when the sun has set, they go to outside the house of the village headman and dance lagṛē in the village street. When they have finished dancing, they go to their respective homes to lie down and sleep.

The next day the priest of the outskirts takes the Goḍet along with him and goes to the forest. Here he pricks himself and offers the blood to the Pargana bongs and the others. At all offerings he acts in the same way.

Offering to the Abge we have every year, sometimes in Aghâṛ (middle of November to middle of December), sometimes in Asaṛ (middle of June to middle of July), there is nothing fixed. To the Abge bongs we sometimes give fowls, sometimes pigs, and sometimes rams. Marak̃ buru and the others with him are bongas common for all, but the Abge bonga belongs to each one separately. The Abge bongas watch over their respective families, in order that no fever or pain, no epidemics, no witchcraft, and no deaths or calamities shall befall them. Santals say, it is told, that if witch women get hold of the Abge bongas, then the members of the family have no possibility of being saved; they will die; therefore they exert themselves to keep their Abge bongs satisfied. And if they make vows to them at times of danger, they will stand up and save them. When they sacrifice to the Abge, only brothers invite each other and eat, the men only; they do not give the women anything. In the open field, near a white-ant hill they perform the sacrifice to the Abge bongs; the invocation is not different, it is the same at all sacrifices.

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Also to the boundary bongas they make sacrifices every year, that is, those who plough in the places where the bongas are. The boundary bongas are very jealous; if they are not kept satisfied, they kill awfully; in a moment they make snakes appear; they make tigers eat you, or they cause disease to come suddenly; therefore we fear them very much.

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2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

551 593 607 We have further belief in various matters. People say: If husband and wife name each other's name, the children become deaf; therefore they do not name each other's name. And if a man and the wife of his younger brother, or a woman and the husband of her younger sister, or the wife of her younger brother name each other's name, they will not, it is told, burn when they are cremated after death; therefore they do not among us name each other's name. Husband and wife call on each other saying, father or mother of so and so child, and when they have not as yet got any children, they call on each other using some general expression[1].

[113]

[1] For a number of details in connexion with the customs here mentioned the reader is referred to the writer's paper 'On Taboo and Customs connected therewith among the Santals' in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVII, Part III, 1898.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

rinse his eyes and pour a little water [illegible] mouth. Thereupon the carriers lift him (the dead one) up and carry him three times round the pyre; when they have done this, they lift him up on the pyre; they put him down with his head towards the South. 764

The clothes of his body, necklaces, and loin-string they loose, rings, ear-rings, all of his they take off, the things sent with him they remove from him, and they cover his private parts with a branch, and they put down on him four pieces of wood, one on his breast, one on his stomach, one on his waist, and one on his feet; this they call covering wood.

The village men stand round the pyre. Any one whose wife is enceinte, stands some distance away. Now the ojha exorcizes them, waving the fowl mentioned three times round them; thereupon he nails the fowl to the pyre corner-post, and he cuts the bedstead and comes away from it. Thereupon the heir breaks off a sedge-culm and, uncoiling some threads of the fringes of the cloth of the dead one, he twists this round the sedge. Having kindled this he sets fire to the mouth of the dead one, while looking away to another side. This they call ag mukh[1]. [843]

Thereupon all the brothers and cousins first throw each one branch of firewood on the dead one; after them all the village men. Then they recite: Here then, we have all of us given thee one branch of firewood; do not keep us long, go like the wind. Thereupon they set fire to it round about. Thereupon they sit down together at a distance. Here one man shaves them. They are all shaved, and at the same time the dead one is cremated and finished. Now they quench the fire by pouring water on. When this is done, the heir rinses the bones with water and pours turmeric water and milk on them, and he puts them into an earthenware vessel. As we nowadays live very far away from the Damuda river, they put only the skull and collar bones, three pieces, into a small earthenware vessel. On this small vessel they place a potsherd, and in the middle of this there is a hole for the dead one to breathe; and into this hole they insert a crab-straw; on this the dead one wanders out and in. Round it they close it up by smearing on turmeric. The other bones, the ashes, and the charcoal they push out into the water of the river and immerse it there. When they pick up the bones, they sing[2]: [593] [605] [539]

Above the funeral pyre
The vulture is sweeping round;
My father's bones
Pick out for me.

Here, take it, vulture,
The gold in the ear,
My father's bones
Pick out for me.

[1] Ag means fire, mukh means mouth, both Hindi words. [illegible]

[2] In a corrupt form of Hindi.

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P. O. BODDING

g. To neutralise the effect of an eclipse.

821 To neutralise the effect of an eclipse is done as follows. In a year when an eclipse of the
428 sun or the moon is taking place, a mother of children will say: Do, my sons or daughters,
604 go for us to the family of your maternal uncle to neutralise the effect of the eclipse. If they
593 live in the same village, they go that very day to the family of their maternal uncle. When they have reached there, they say: We have come, uncle, to neutralise the effects of the eclipse. They say to them: All right, my boy (or my girl). Now the mother of these children has brewed beer and takes this to her father's house; and they drink this, pouring some out as a libation. If her father is living, he says to her: What is it, my girl, that you have in mind and have brought? If her father is not living, her brothers will also ask her in the same way. She then says: You remember, your nephews or grandchildren came to neutralise the effets of the eclipse; it is in connexion with this that we have come. Now if the old man is alive, he calls all the boys together. If he is not alive, the brothers come together and consult each other. And they give them a fowl or a goat or a sheep or a pig. If these multiply, then only these children have a right to this property because the wives of all the sons fetch this eclipse-neutralising from their father or brothers. Therefore the heirs on both sides have no right to get anything of the possible increase of these. Only of their own accord the brothers of both sides may give the children a bull- or a heifer calf. They say that formerly, when the cows or the sheep or goats multiplied in the home of a wife's father, and the girl was bringing this live stock from there to her husband's home, then the bonga of her father's home would also come along. Then if this bonga did not return, her husband would have to worship the bonga of the old home of his wife.

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h. About harvest perquisites.

421 The harvest perquisites are as follows: When a man's daughter, while unmarried, gets
562 harvest perquisites, her father and brothers will lend her perquisites to somebody at 50 pct. And when these perquisites increase, and from this also cattle multiply, then at the time when her husband brings to his home what has multiplied in the old home of his wife, the bongs of some people will also, it is told, follow together with this property. Therefore some people do not let what they have remain there for a long time, fearing that the bongas will come along. And when anyone marries them, also the brothers of the husband have a right to the harvest perquisites property. But then the father and the brothers of the girl will call out to get a higher brideprice; because they say: We are sending with this our daughter or sister, or: what she owns, half our household. Therefore we shall take a higher brideprice, and of this you will not get anything in return. And when she acquires harvest perquisites after having become a widow or been divorced and this increases, then, in case friends apply for her and she is remarried, this woman alone has

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4, 6 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

Rights and Duties of Certain Relations

121 602 593 We consider it necessary to note the peculiar rights and duties of certain relatives and their mutual behaviour, as noticed in the Santal society, to enable us to understand better their kinship organisation.

1. Father

593 [846] During *Chàṭiàr* (a ceremony observed as a cleansing from ceremonial defilement after childbirth) it is the father who will hold and carry the oil with which his kinsmen will rub themselves before the customary ablution. None but the father of the child can discharge this function. The reverence paid by the Santal to his father can be witnessed from his customary ancestor-worship. The average son is very obedient to his father and quarrels are rare.

2. Eldest son

[764] The eldest son is required by custom to apply the first fire to the dead body of his father during cremation.

602 [846] [585] [764] 3. Agnates

Bhàyàds (blood-relatives to the known degrees on the father's side) must assemble at the *Chàṭiàr*, marriage and funeral ceremonies of their kin. They present *bàṇḍia* and cloths and thus lighten the burden of the feasts, to which they are treated in return according to custom.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

4. Maternal uncle

In ceremonial functions, the maternal uncle takes the place of the guardian of the house, if the father or the brothers be dead. Thus the father stands first, next the paternal uncle, the maternal uncle holds the third place. The maternal uncle gets a marriage-present called *mama pòn* (bride-price, to be paid to the maternal uncle in case the father is not living).

5. Son-in-law

During certain *pujas*, the son-in-law of the family sacrifices goats, and during marriages he holds the basket of the bride (*dàurà*).[1]

As regards the mutual behaviour of relations, the Santals do not very much differ from the Hindus. Thus the mother is respected just according to Hindu ideologies. The brothers have friendly and fraternal feelings, and sisters are affectionately treated. The wife respects her husband like her lord. They have a folk-song which will illustrate the point further :—

Niṅgàñ nàpuñ sàri cando barabàri
Gateñ tuluc' tòkòe barabarik';

1. Bâhu dâurà = A specially large basket in which a bride is raised shoulder high at the time the bride-groom applies the red-paint (sindur) to her forehead, Dr. Campbell's Dictionary, p. 139.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

593 539 Jiwi boge bàṛic' gatiñge natañ
" " " " tingun,
Niñañ jiwi dòre gateñ tire.

Translation:

Father and mother are like Gods,
(But) Who will claim equality with the husband?
All the joys and sorrows of life,
Are readily accepted by the husband,
" " " by the husband standing (firm).
My life fully depends on my husband.

Prohibited degrees of marriage

582 In our discussion on the principles of marriage-grades we had occasion to refer to the fact that although theoretically speaking, the Santals have exogamous clans for purposes of marriage, they have developed several prohibited degrees which regulate the marriage tie.

[614] The general rule that the Santal can marry into any clan except his own, is qualified by several restrictions which we will narrate here. Thus they can marry into the clan of their mothers, but three generations are prohibited now.

For purposes of marriage regulations, a Santal's relations and those on his wife's side may be classed under three separate groups:—

(1) Agnates.

3t Mukherjea O. T-4, 8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
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105 182 431 being an evidence of fraternal virtues of co-operation.

105 181 421 836 Although ideas of individualism have saturated the Santal social fabric and they now own private property, and have personal ownership over many things, communistic ideas in origin can be easily traced in the custom which allows all bachelors of the tribe to have free access and intercourse with the unmarried girls of the tribe barring of course customary prohibited degrees and relations.

105 593 Evidence of discipline in family life can be easily noticed. Their heads of families are held in great esteem and their commands are carried out [611] respectfully. Although the family is patrilineal and patripotestal, the mother has her natural voice in the family-life and women, notwithstanding all their legal disabilities, have their moral rights assured.

105 181 582 Nowhere is the democratic authority of the appointed guardians of the tribe in better evidence than in the cases of marriage regulations. It is in the administration of these that we can see the will of the Santals finds fullest play. We have seen in the foregoing pages how clan-incest is detested and how the erring ones undergo penance and restored to the tribe. It is the tribal council, the sacred [623] repository of all customs and traditions, that main- [684] tains intact the tribal solidarity and purity by outcasting the man and woman who have become

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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together is the second essential after *Sindrà dan*, to constitute marriage. The ceremonies at the bride's place conclude with *Dak' Cal* (water-giving) when the bride offers rice-beer and tooth-sticks to the bridegroom's party, who in their turn, present her with suitable gifts. 585

Bridegroom's Return Home

The bridegroom's party now returns home with the bride leaving behind the goat, they carried, to be offered to the dead ancestors of the bride by the bride's party. They are welcomed home, amidst scenes of dancing, while the feet of the bride are washed by the bridegroom's younger sisters and those of the bridegroom by his elder brother's wife in the open courtyard (*angna*). The couple are next taken inside the rooms ; and again the doors are shut by the bridegroom's sister when they exact their presents from the imprisoned bride. Friends and relatives on the famale side present the couple with various articles after a dinner. The bride is next made to eat a meal soaked in the water in which the feet of her husband had been washed, to ensure that she will be his bond-slave for ever. [593]

Now, a ceremony follows called *Kadoghata* (i.e. handling of mud). The couple are now conveyed to the *jòl-ghat* (bathing place) by the women of the tribe. A water-vessel is carried. There, the couple

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[177] [668] [262] 2. Carrion should not be eaten. The signatories refer to this custom with feelings of shame.

[535] [533] 3. Santals should not dance or sing anywhere except in their houses or villages. The manifesto reminds the tribe that the Europeans, Hindusthanis, the eastern hill-tribes sing and dance, but they avoid the hill-sides and public places. The ancient Santals had no public dancing.

[593] 4. Force should not be resorted to without reason as it slackens the marriage tie and gives rise to various vices.

[291] [301] 5. Santals should wear coarse cloth and their women should give up wearing glass-bangles.

During my last visit to Mayurbhanj, I found the air thick with these ideas, specially among the educated Santals and there was a noticeable tendency to give up dancing and singing in public. It became clear to us that aboriginal sets of value and philosophy of life were undergoing a perceptible change. Times are gone when the tribes joined with the rest of the population in their pujas and festivals as in the past. To a discerning eye, this ban has robbed the tribes of the *joie de vivre* to a great extent and the infiltration of political ideas plus a realisation of their rather poor economic life, has cast a pall of gloom even on the denizens of forests, hill-tops and wide expanses of laterite soil,

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584 and about twenty percent result from love or capture.

593 The average Santal remains madly in love with his wife for about two years after the marriage, thereafter, his ardour cools. With children, the world of reality makes its existence felt.

584 [607] [603] Lead in courtship is also taken by the woman. In such cases she requisitions the services of her obliging sister-in-law or grandmother, who conveys the message of love. The woman does not send presents to win over the man of her choice. Further 833 enquiry regarding the point if lead in coitus is taken by women, revealed that sometimes it happens like that. But should such news leak out, it becomes [558] a subject for jokes and the husband is thought as a worthless fellow, but nothing particular is thought 554 about the girl. The girl who forces her company 192 on men or belongs to many husbands is called a "dàri" by the Santals. The boy who likes the company of women rather too much is termed "Hiròm," and a flirt is called "Khilḍu". The licentious fellow, who cohabits with many women is censured as a "Caṇḍal."

152 We enquired to find out if the Santals are 834 jealous by nature or not. It transpired that ordinarily the Santals do not suspect anything wrong if their women-folk talk or mix with other men on business or in course of social rounds. But human nature

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224 782 In the alternative, the hunters may simply ask the Headman to invoke the Hill-god to look to the welfare of the tribe during the hunt.

224 834 784 As regards special rules to be observed before the hunting, it may be noted that men who will hunt, sleep separately from their wives and do not have sexual intercourse on the night previous to the hunting. On the day fixed for the excursion, the hunters do not apply oil on their heads or eat meat or fish or come in contact with women who have menstruated whose very touch is thought to defile the food or the clothes of the hunters.

224 [515] When the hunting party returns to the village, the feet of the hunters are washed with great delight by the women and oil is rubbed on the tired legs. All these conclude with the customary [576] salutations called *Johor* and *do god*, the former being adopted by women who are superiors in age and relationship and the latter, being a prostration by the juniors.

224 593 533 539 We would like to conclude this short review with a folk-song which describes the agony of a Santal wife while her husband is out hunting:

Baba hak najòmcò.
Baba sòbòd na jòmcò.
Baba lota dak' dògo sepeindaramlet.
Bàhu nalòmraga, bàhu nalòmhòmòra,
Bàhu hòpòn badal go bàhu hòpòn menak'ko.

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Baba heo haracò, baba hòbòr haracò,
Baba nunko tuluc' dògò baba nohoiñ reben len.

(TRANSLATED)

Daughter-in-law: Father, the sound of (returning from the hunt) perhaps I hear.
Father, the sound I hear perhaps.
Father, I am standing at the front-door with a pot of water by placing it on the palm.

Father-in-law: My daughter, don't you weep. Do not mourn (my girl).
My daughter, I have got a son, your husband will be changed for another of my son.

Daughter-in-law: Father, I have reared him on my lap,
Father, I have embraced him, while (he was) a child.
Father, I am not ready to accept him.

OTHER HUNTS

224 [431]

The *Bababaske Sendra* follows the method of the *Deshua Sendra* but there is no *Gipitic'*. A specialty is that the Headman is presented with a *kulai* (hare) or *tur* (squirrel), who, in return presents a pot of rice-beer. The *Jarpa Sendra* is a hunt on a smaller scale by members of five or six mouzas.

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595 polyandry is a recognised custom among the Santals and this has been taken up as an official fact in the District Gazetteer, Santal Parganas. But when we compared a Santal family minutely with the polyandrous family of the Todas as above, we found the opinion of these two writers not supportable by any evidence whatsoever.

593 **Husband and Wife**: The definite nature of an individual non-polyandrous family amongst the Santals is brought about by the relation between the husband and wife. When they once settle down to life, it is generally for good; the conjugal love is similar to what we find in civilized society. The husband in important matters consults his wife. At the time of the marriage of their sons and daughters, the consent of both the father and the mother is necessary. There is often a genuine mutual respect between husband and wife. By the legal basis of the marriage, the Santal recognises the ownership of the husband individually, as indicated by the mutual besmearing with Sindur or red vermilion, but only in a minor degree, that of the family of the husband, over a woman. The Santal wife, inspite of her theoretically subordinate position, in practical life has a fair amount of independence and often a position which may be said to be nearly co-ordinate with that of her husband, within her own sphere. The Santal husband and wife carry out the duties towards one another as far as possible in a primitive society. The husband gives clothing to wear, lodging and board and other necessary things which a wife in a primitive life requires, while the wife feeds her husband by cooking food, for which she collects fuel from the neighbouring

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forest, and brings water from a streamlet flowing near by. Every morning the wife getting up from the bed cleans the house with mud and cow dung. Over and above that, she goes to the agricultural field to help her husband. In the daily social life of the people the Santal woman has a very independent and strong position both at home and in the village.

Position of Women: Some writers have remarked that the Santal women are looked upon as mere chattel, with which opinion I disagree. Rev. P. O. Bodding is of the same opinion with me (see some remarks on the Position of Women among the Santals). Such writers have gone too far. Making a tour of almost the whole of the Santal parganas, I got the idea that the Santal women have an important status in their society. Though they are shut off from certain religious and administrative functions their economic status is very high. It is they who generally go to market, do the bargaining—all the produce is in their hand—and they make over the proceeds for the sustenance of the family to the male members. They are the repositories of the moral and religious tradition of the society. All the infringements of social order are brought to the notice of the male members through them.

Parents and Children: The relation between the parents and children among the Santals is also of a sweet affectionate type. How strong the affection of the Santal parents is towards their children can be seen from the following facts. The mother or the grandmother of the children always carries the children even when going to the Mela or to the field When a child is attacked with any disease, the parents

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854 755 When a child is attacked with any disease, the parents become restless and call in the Raranic (Herbal doctor) or the Ojha (Shaman) for curing him.

593 123 **Illustrations**: In the course of my tour in the Santal Parganas, in Godda Damin in the village Sundarpahari, a man one day requested me to see his son who was suffering from some disease. I went there and saw that the mother of the child held him on her lap. The [763] child at that time was pale and anaemic, and the very sight showed that he was in a dying state. In the evening of that very day I heard the child was dead. I at once went there and saw a very pitiable sight. The mother held the dead body fast in her lap and would [533] not part with it, cried loudly and gave vent to her feelings in the following lamentation song[1]:

[539] "Jare jare dullarya tingdo, ardo okate tahenkan tinyia
Indig men keda lengegimenai tingia
Haire haire dhon tingdo akarbo
Tine dine jom leda
Jara jare dullarya tingdo okakoreye suroh baraikan tingia.
Indigo menkidaing jahan beret ketingya".

(English Translation)

"Oh mel oh mel my beloved one
Where art thou now, my darling.
I said to myself all is well with me
Alas, alas, my treasure, how short a time thou wast with us.
Oh, my beloved, oh, my beloved, where hast thou found a place ?
I said to myself he will get well again
Ah mél ah mel"

1. E.G.Man—Sonthalia and the Sonthals, London 1867.

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At the time of parting after marriage the mother of the girl sings the following song which shows how strong is the affection of the mother towards her daughter[1]:

"Dash manse kukhi may rakalom,
Baro manse danda may rakalom,
Ebekaise racabo madiya,
Duyar rahilagigelare thesh,
Dosh manse kukhimmay rakhalom,
Baro manse dandamay rakhalom,
Ebekaise rackabo madhiya yayokera,
Mayakoise chhora Bore.

Utho dhanichala dhalga yuth,
Dhanichals dhani ghorge,
Chala dhani yuthi chali jay,
Tilamaka tandi purbhu ghora,
Jhinilage yayokera,
Mayakoise chhora Bore,
Baba hipaoyalaug mutha bhari,
Taka oyajo bhayahi paopalang,
Sursingya barada, mayahin,
Paoyalang kanchura kapra jore.

Muth bhari taka paoya yudali,
Jai gel surasingya baroda gada,
Shota jay gelo, kanchura kaprajo,
Chhitali jay gelo, matha bhari,
Sindura jo jonome jonome daybhel".

[1] I. E. G. Man—Sonthalia and the Sonthals, London 1867.

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(English Translation)

593 585 539 533 "For ten months I kept thee in my womb,
For twelve I had thee on my waist,
How can I keep thee now ? Oh, my daughter,
The house is up to the door full of people.

(*Chorus*)

For ten months I kept thee in my womb,
For twelve I had thee on my waist,
How can I keep thee now ? Oh, my daughter,
How can thou part with mother's affection.

Oh mother, for pity's sake do not leave me.
How can I leave thee ?

Get up my daughter and begone.
On the Tilayaka place stands the rich man's
horse saddled and bridled,
Oh my darling mother, how can I leave thee ?
My father has received a handful of rupees
and a long horned bull
Mymother has got a striped dress
The handful of rupees is spent, the striped
dress of my mother is worn out
The tall-horned bull died in the bathing place
My head is marked repeatedly with the red paint
I am signed for ever and ever"

683 593 159 I now cite an incident in which it can be seen how the father is attached to his sons and daughters—for the son's sake the father murdered his own mother and mother's sister.

It was alleged that Malta lost a son and a daughter who died of fever some time before the murder. Suspecting that his mother was a witch and

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was killing his children with her baleful influence, he convened a panchayat of the village elders and accused his mother of witchcraft. A quarrel in the family followed, when his mother left his protection and went to her sister's residence in the same village. A few days later Malta went to the residence of his maternal aunt for the treatment of his sick child by her husband Juno, who was a doctor amongst the Santals and stayed there for a few days. On the night of occurrence Malta who had fever slept in the same room with his mother, his aunt, his son and the other inmates. But at about midnight Juno, the village doctor was roused from his sleep by certain sounds and he noticed that Malta was standing with a pickaxe in his hand near the bed where his mother and aunt slept. The two women were lying senseless on the bed with bleeding wounds on their heads.[1]

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The relation between the elder brother and the younger brother amongst the Santals is very interesting. The elder brother, specially the eldest one, is looked upon as the representative of the father and after his death is the head and governor of the family. For this reason there are in fact some Santals who look upon the wife of the eldest brother as equal to their mother and pay her respect accordingly. Again the elder brother cannot call by name the wife of his younger brother. (This was verified whenever I asked for the genealogical table of the Santals. I noticed that in every case the elder cannot take the name of his younger brother's wife; he asked others to tell her name). The Bakat bahu

1. Amrita Bazar Patrika, 28th May, 1933.

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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593 609 (younger brother's wife) cannot touch the shadow of her husband's elder brother.

614 **Sept and Sub-sept Organisation:** The internal structure of the Santal tribe is singularly complex and elaborate. There are several exogamous divisions called Parishes (septs). Ten names were obtained by me at Dumka, Dumka Damin, Godda, Godda Damin, Jasidhi, and Hazaribagh districts. In Deoghar I got eleven Parishes:

	Sept	Meaning	Sept	Meaning
1.	Hansdha	Wild goose	6. Soren	The constellation Pleiades.
2.	Murmu	Nilgai	7. Tudu	Nil
3.	Kisku	Nil	8. Baske	Nil
4.	Hemrom	Betel Palm	9. Besra	Hawk
5.	Marandi	Sabai grass	10. Chonrey	Lizard

In Deoghar in addition to the above I recorded another sept namely 'Pauria' the meaning of which is Pigeon.

114 614 Edward Garnet Man described in his 'Santhal and Santhalia' the following twelve Parishes of the Santal :

	Sept	Sept
1.	Hanshdha	7. Besera
2.	Murmu	8. Kedoar
3.	Soren	9. Baske
4.	Tudu	10. Marmoring
5.	Marli	11. Bisra
6.	Kisku	12. Hemron

Marli, Besera, Kedoar, and Marmoring—these four Parishes I could not find any where in the Santal Parganas.

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585 Then on the appointed day the bridegroom with the bariatko (friends, relatives and villagers) starts for the bride's house in the afternoon. When they reach the village of the bride, they wait outside the village in a field, and they are cordially welcomed by the bride's father and relatives. Dancing and music were already going on there, tum tums, madals and cymbals being beaten more than ever. The bride wearing a new cloth stands a little apart by the side of the bridegroom. [593] The bridegroom's younger brother, an important personage in the scene, stands on his left side and the whole party stands on the road just at the entrance to the village. A large crowd of village females, each bearing a brass basin containing a lump of coarse molasses and a lota filled with water stand there. [576] Upon the usual greetings being offered which consist of all bending down respectfully and touching the ankles of the happy group, the elder women step forward and each in turn taking a large pinch from the molasses thrusts it first into the bride's mouth with her fingers and thumb, after which she holds the lota of water for the bride to drink from and then pours a little of the water over her feet. The same ceremony is performed on the bridegroom and his brother. The dancing and music are kept up without cessation during this performance and many torches are also lit. [593] [604] After this, three women—the mother, the elder aunt and the younger aunt of the bride—come out of the crowd and take the bridegroom, his brother and the bride away with them into the village followed by other attendant girls and women who amuse themselves with cutting jokes on the blushing bride. All then proceed

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to a clean house washed spick and span which the Joghmanjhi of the village has made ready. On its threshold stands a young and graceful maiden with a lighted taper in her hand awaiting their approach all alert and she stands there for an hour after the pair come in. She is generally the younger sister of the bride, in absence of whom her cousin does this function. Here the carriers drop their burdens and after salutation the same cleaning and washing of feet is undergone when they are again taken up and deposited at the next house and this goes on through the whole village. 585 [593] [605]

It is well nigh midnight before all these preliminaries are settled. The bridegroom's father takes with him food for the bariatko who in the meantime have their fill. Then if there be excess of money all the villagers get a share of it. This payment is given on their leaf-plates. In the feast the outcaste serve salt, which is the most important function in the ceremony. After the feast an old Parganait says "From today we have taken them into our society again, all pollution has been washed away. We shall take food in their houses, we shall give them our daughters in marriage and also take their daughters for our sons, etc". Thereupon they dig a small hole in the earth in which they bury a lump of cowdung and put a stone on top, thereby symbolizing that the matter is buried for ever. Thus the man and woman become Santals again. The wedding party then adjourns to the house of the bride. The bride then is put into a basket and her male relations lift her up and the bridegroom is raised upon the shoulder of her eldest brother; thus he meets her and applies vermilion on her forehead five times with [593]

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585 [593] a horizontal stroke. This part is the most important of the whole function of the marriage ceremony. Then paddy and grain are showered over her.

Then the wedding feast begins. The Jogmanjhi who is in charge of this makes the food ready which consists of goat's flesh, pork, fowl, boiled rice and large earthen pots filled with pachawee. All the villagers, both male and female, young and old, eat to their heart's content.

Next day the bride and bridegroom and a few female relatives of the bride come back to the house of the bridegroom. The female relatives remain there with the bride that night. Next day after a good feast they come back to their village. To all the villagers of the bridegroom's party he gives a feast which ends the marriage ceremony.

587 **Sanga Bapla** :—In this form of marriage the divorced woman or widow is married with a widower. This type of marriage may be compared with the Nika system of the Muhamedans. Here the bridegroom and the bride settle the marriage negotiation and mostly the male takes the initiative. In this marriage the bride [583] price is very nominal, a new sari is given to the bride by the bridegroom. On the appointed day of the marriage the bridegroom comes to the bride's house accompained by his father (if he is alive) and a few co-villagers. The binding ceremony of the Santal marriage is the Sindurdan ; which here is done not by applying Sindur directly on the parting of the hair of bride by the bridegroom, but instead he smears a dimbu flower with vermilion and fixes it in the bride's coiffure. A feast is then arranged.

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husbands are strenuously resisted by the Santals, and the fact that the civil courts administer the Hindu laws of succession leads to many cases of tension. In practice, certain rights are conceded to women for "humanitarian" reasons. To daughters who do not marry—a rare but not unknown phenomenon—and to widows, with or without children, the right to maintenance is given. Since the woman on marriage becomes a member of another clan, the succession to land cannot be carried through her.

Ties of kinship determine standards of behaviour to a great extent. Life in community is an art to be learnt, and the Santal has his own rigid standards of right conduct. The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is one of deep intimacy and affection, which is no doubt fostered by the necessity for leaving the young children with the grandparents when both parents have to go out to work. The rules governing familiarity and its converse, avoidance, are based on kinship ties. The joking relationship, apart from grandparents and grandchildren, extends to his wife's younger sisters for a man and to her husband's younger brothers and her elder sister's husband for a woman. People within the circle of this relationship can talk freely with one another, indulging in jokes and calling each other names. Conversely, extreme care is called for in relationships which do not fall within this circle. A Santal child must behave with great respect to anyone who belongs to the same generation as his parents. Names are sparingly used between individuals, and relationship terms are the usual form of address. Husband and wife will on no account use each other's names, in distinction from the Hindu taboo, which is enjoined on the wife only. They behave circumspectly towards each other in public. A woman has to carry herself with care before her husband's elder brother. Her dress must at all times be properly arranged in front of him; she cannot sit with her legs dangling over the edge of a bed or the low veranda running round the house, her hair must be arranged, and she does not talk to him at all apart from the necessities of daily life. The rules extend to the finer forms of courtesy. Every Santal knows what is expected of him when he is meeting relatives—whether he has to make a deep obeisance to the ground before the person he has met, or whether he should wait for the other person to greet him first and then acknowledge the greeting by cupping his hands together and raising them towards his chest. A greeting between equals is performed by means of a

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so, they are able to determine the sex of subsequent children according to the place at which the cord is cut. 844

Special measures have to be taken when delivery proves to be difficult. An *ojha* is called in if he lives at hand. He may resort to consulting the omens with leaf and oil, but if matters do not appear to be so serious he proceeds at once to prescribe treatment. One of his methods is to take a square of bark from a plantain tree in his right hand and to prick it repeatedly with a needle held in his left hand. Or a dagger is held upright over a brass drinking vessel and water is poured down the blade of the dagger, this water afterwards being given to the mother to drink. Another method is to tie a root to the mother's hair. It is important that the strand of hair to which the root is tied should be cut off as soon as the birth has taken place, lest she should lose her entrails as well. No men are admitted to the room where the birth is taking place, and the husband has to remain at hand in the courtyard. When the delivery is difficult he comes in for some chaffing or abuse according to the degree of difficulty. Some action of his at the time when conception occurred is held to be responsible. One of his duties is to keep by him the materials for lighting a fire in the room after the child is born. No fire is kept lit during the process of birth, but the fire lit immediately afterwards is used for providing a dry-heat massage for his wife's abdomen and for massage of the infant. As soon as the child is born, the women cry out the news to the husband and any others in the courtyard, and the former takes a large stick with which he repeatedly beats the roof, crying out loudly at the same time to drive away any lurking ghosts. As soon as the floor has been cleaned and the mother is resting, the husband is admitted into the room. He then digs a hole in the floor with a ploughshare and in it he buries the afterbirth. It must not be buried directly beneath a rafter. The Santal does not talk of his "birthplace"; he refers to it as "the village where my afterbirth was buried". 845 [593]. [372] 844

One of the ceremonies that take place on the day that the child is born appears to relate chiefly to the wellbeing of the mother. She and the midwife sit facing each other on the floor of the house. The mother fills a leaf cup with distilled liquor and passes the cup to the midwife, who throws away its contents on her left side; this is repeated three times. The ceremony is known as *met' halaŋ*, or "lifting the eye", and no Santal has been able to offer me an explanation of the custom. It may be ascribed to the necessity for taking precautions against the evil eye. 844 788

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the parting of her hair. Next, all the articles required for the cremation are collected. These include a spade, an axe, parched rice, an old winnowing fan, a water pot, a handful of straw from the roof of the house, cotton seeds, a small earthen pot containing turmeric paste, flour made from sun-dried rice, and a hen. The body is carried out from the courtyard feet first on a string bed that is borne by four men. When the end of the village street is reached the bed is set down for a minute and those who wish to do so anoint the body once more for the last time. The women folk do not accompany the body beyond the confines of the house s. When the last anointing is over, the bed is picked up and carried to the regular cremation ground, which is by the side of a stream or a lake. At Sarenga, where both Santals and non-Santals live, they share the same cremation ground. The pyre is known as the *sara*; it is constructed from north to south and the body is placed upon it with the head pointing to the south, this being the general Hindu custom as well. The foundation is made with large logs on which kindling wood and smaller pieces of firewood are laid, and the four corners are marked by driving stakes into the ground. Before the pyre is set alight all clothing is removed from the body, including the piece of string that has been fastened round the waist since a string was first placed there at the time of the *janam chatiar*. Leaves and small pieces of wood are placed over the body to "cover the shame". When the body is in position the hen is sacrificed. It is transfixed to one of the upright corner stakes with thorns. "The reason", said a Santal, "is this. One life has gone, and to save that life in the next world we send another life. By giving this other life we please *Jom Raj* (the king of the underworld according to Hindu mythology)."

When a married woman has died her husband has to apply fire to the corpse. In the case of a man the duty is performed by his eldest son, and failing a son it falls to the lot of the senior kinsman on the male side who is present. He takes in his hand a thin stick to the end of which a rag has been tied. This end he dips in the oil vessel and it is then set alight. Then, supported by two of his neighbours, he walks round the funeral pyre three times, after which he puts the burning cloth to the mouth of the corpse, looking in the opposite direction as he does so. Even in cases where the corpse is buried, fire must be applied to the mouth. When this has been done, the two men who have been supporting the chief mourner set fire to the two southern corners of the pyre, while one of them watches to see that the fire takes proper hold. It remains his duty to see that the fire burns